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USSR Report

POLITICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL AFFAIRS

(FOUO 15/82)



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INTERNATIONAL

PROPAGANDA, ORGANIZATIONAL WORK IN AFGHANISTAN DESCRIBED

Tashkent ZVEZDA VOSTOKA in Russian No 2, Feb 82 pp 170-183

[Article by Georgiy Melikyants: "From an Afghan Notebook"]

[Excerpts] We set out from the base point in the area of the Khayrakhan Pass. Burnt out grass on low hills--that was the entire roadside landscape.

The detachment is an unusual one: Agitation and propaganda. Abbreviated--APO. The backbone consists of three dozen specially trained fellows: lecturers, film engineers, musicians, sound operators, and a doctor. Besides the ability to speak persuasively, sing, dance, play musical instruments, and use a microphone, it was also necessary to have personal coverage and to be able to shoot well. For the planned route passed through areas where the situation was far from calm. Otherwise, why such a detachment?

I will run ahead: The full APO returned to the base.

The fellows were equipped with two broadcasting stations, a field club with movie equipment, and a mobile photo exhibit. The entire vehicle was loaded with big boxes containing magazines, posters, books, insignias, and souvenirs. The record collection was packed in a separate box, and erected on top of everything were cases containing Central Asian folk instruments.

It was a hot time for a propaganda campaign. In both senses. In the shade the thermometer showed 45, but first you had to find the shade. It was later that we encountered dense vineyards, orchards, and even snow on the Salang Pass. But the road began with an ash-gray plateau.

The summer had opened up all of the secret paths by which the bands of so-called "rebels" filtered into this area of the country from Pakistan. This was, as it later turned out, the "peak" of their thieving activities. Shamelessly plundering and mercilessly killing, the bandits appeared now here and now there, burned schools, committed acts of violence, and prevented peasants from gathering the harvest. In bestial anger, they have taken cruel revenge on those who have worked in the local agencies of people's power.

They have also come up to the road: They have attacked transportation and have set up ambushes.

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The population was frightened, and in some places simply cowed. How do you support people and help them to free themselves from fear in order to be able to organize themselves for resistance? Evil had to be opposed with good, horrors with faith, and fire and lead with words of truth.

Who?

The people that came together in the detachment were of different ages, backgrounds, education, and temperament. The experience in life of some was supplemented by the gifts of others, and a lack of agitator skills was made up for by an enormous desire to be of use. These were dissimilar, but in essence the same people.

During the course of the campaign some people were replaced, and some stayed in the villages to keep on working. As it moved forward local activists poured into the detachment. But as it had had one face in the beginning, so it remained until the end--put together according to a single principle and acting according to a single will.

Aminuddin Saidi--thick-set, of average height, light-haired, and with a broad, kind smile. A native of Kabul and a graduate of the university, he was the chief authority in the detachment on religion. His precise answers which revealed a deep knowledge sometimes amazed the professional clergymen, experts on the Koran.

Amon Ashkrez was the soul of the music group. It is impossible to say which instrument he did not know how to play. And he was a first-class dancer, and the kind of singer that, when they heard him, people, it seemed, forgot about time and about the fact that there were many listeners, but really only one singer. . . .

By profession Amon was a schoolteacher. He taught the native language and literature. But already during the time of King Zahir Shah he began to make appearances on the radio with caustic little songs about extortioners and soulless officials. He very quickly became famous under the pseudonym of Mirza-Kalan. The pseudonym, however, was quickly uncovered and, as was natural under those conditions, he began to be persecuted. After the second stage of the April Revolution Ashkrez was invited to the CC of the Democratic Youth Organization of Afghanistan. He was asked: "Would you not be able to set up an agitation team? People in the villages and at the factories are in such need of living truthful words and of good songs!" Ashkrez, of course, agreed immediately.

The fellows that were selected were talented and in love with music and folk songs. The 18-year-old Farid Rastagor--the accordionist--was ready to sing and play for simple people day and night. Equally obsessed with art was the 17-year-old singer Yakhson Akhmad who was dreaming of entering a technical vuz after high school. Mokhammad Kasym, the ensemble's doyrst, also would have liked to have become an engineer. Mokhammad Omar showed himself to be the virtuoso in playing Afghan folk instruments. During the year of joint creative work all of them, as they say, got into great tune together.

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Amon, as their leader, had that amazingly subtle sense of the audience which distinguishes the best representative of two very kindred professions--the lecturer and the actor. But he not only perceived the mood of people--he skillfully controlled it. His young musicians were a match for him.

The mullah Sultan Mokhammad covered the whole road with the detachment. He took the April Revolution to heart--he himself was poor and was the comforter of the poor. This kind of mullah understood with his innards: People's power would unfailingly reorganize life on other, just principles. He was certain that this power was from Allah. And for this reason in his sermons he passionately asserted that those who were doing evil would not see the good of Allah, for it would never be given to them to stand before his gaze. In revenge, the "bandits" kidnapped Sultan Mokhammad's family. And this again convinced him that his place was in the detachment.

The universal favorite was the army political worker, Lieutenant Colonel Baki. Still a young man, he could, it seemed, change the convictions of even a gray-haired old timer without difficulty. Well-bred, tolerant, delicately polite, Baki gave an example of the kind of uncounterfeit respect for the customs, traditions, and mores of the population which in the end gained the detachment interest and, most important, the trust of many thousands of people. Such experienced people who had seen a lot in their lives as Baki or, for example, the chief of the propaganda section of the Kabul provincial committee of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan Tug'yen not only transmitted to the youth their rich and many-sided training, but also demonstrated models of endurance in difficulty and resourcefulness in unexpected situations. And there were plenty of difficulties and surprises.

Sharif, the second secretary of the Kabul provincial committee of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, covered many dozens of kilometers with the detachment. Small of stature and by no means built like a hero, modest to a fault, if he did stand out from the general mass, it was because of his exceptional ability to work. At any minute he was ready to get up and go to people, especially if there was a difficult discussion to be held with prejudiced ones. And usually in this kind of discussion it was always his, Sharif's, arguments that won--for he was equipped with the most powerful weapon in this situation--the truth.

At the beginning of the summer when Sharif was still chief of the organization section of the Kabul city committee of the party, he and I travelled to a textile mill located in Bagrami--a satellite of the Afghan capital. The situation there at that time was, in Sharif's opinion, "not solid." The bandits would suddenly appear in the factory settlement, terrorize the population, and "collect taxes"; that is, simply rob.

I knew that Sharif travelled to Bagrami every day: He was the city committee's authorized agent in the settlement and at the mill. And still the way he was met by people--both the executives and the superworkers--seemed a surprise. One felt that here he really was his own person--in the offices, in the shops, and on the

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training ground where, in accordance with a special schedule, the fighters of the local defense of the revolution trained. He willingly answered questions, and he himself began talks with workers and activists, eliciting their questions. And he conducted these discussions in a quiet voice, calmly and confidently.

These are the kind of people that went out with the APO during that hot time onto the restless Kabul-Chaugani highway. Some had experience, others had talent, while others had nothing as yet except a feeling of duty. And together they were a great power.

They Did Not Wait

The detachment knew that the population would not meet it in Karabag. The Khan gang was roving around in the neighborhood. His cut-throats had a reputation for especial cruelty. And although they did not risk billeting themselves in the village itself, their scouts frequently came here to "collect taxes"; that is, to rob a new victim, frighten the old men, and sow bad rumors.

News of the detachment ran, as one would expect, ahead of it. An unusual caravan, it was said, was coming with music, movies, and with soldiers whose automatic weapons were not the way they were with the "rebels"--not aimed at people--but hanging behind their backs, barrels pointing earthward. And these soldiers give out matches, and soap, and to those who are barefoot--they give shoes away free.

And this news reached not only the inhabitants of the villages near the road. It also reached the bandits, causing the wild rage among their leaders. And a bandit is a bandit because he puts a lie or a threat up against good news.

That is why the people of Karabag hid in their homes. The natural interest in the caravan about which the people had been speaking all week gave way to fear of punishment; for Khan appeared suddenly and his court always delivered quick verdicts.

However, if one is to be exact, it was not only fear that stopped people. Too much had been said till then about the fact that the power in Kabul was now in the hands of people who do not believe in Allah and who trample upon Islam. According to the rumors, they had even closed all of the mosques in the capital. And the caravan was coming from Kabul! Was it not coming to close our mosque? Do not the unfaithful ones want to prohibit us from performing Namaz? Did they not intend with their gifts to drive people away from the dukans and to undermine commerce?

In a word, the detachment was met in Karabag by silence. Not a single person came out onto the square during the first half hour, although the loudspeaker loudly called upon them to do so: The sound unit had made the rounds of all of the little streets in the village. Something similar happened in the other populated points also: The threats of the bandits and the false rumors had "worked." But there had never yet been such a complete and long silence.

Ashkrez and his boys let down the sides of the truck, turning it into a stage. A rug was spread out. For about three minutes the instruments were tuned. Then

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Ashkrez said that he had heard the sound of a latch being opened in one of the houses close to the square. That meant that interest was after all getting the upper hand over fear? For three hours straight Amon's magnificent five sang and played. At first they were listened to by an empty square, but gradually spectators began to come up. One at a time, two at a time, and then whole families: A father and his sons. Those tradesmen who were a bit bolder opened their shops-- and a rather lively trade began. The day, by the way, was a so-called bread day, a bazaar day, and the inhabitants of the village had put aside some money for it, and also relatives had come to them with money. It turned out that the bandits by frightening the population had thereby abolished the traditional bread days, while the caravan from Kabul had again put everything in its place? This is the unexpected turn that things took, and this was one more little victory for the detachment.

At that time Ashkrez and his boys kept singing and playing. The audience became more bold and began to express its approval. Choosing the right moment, under Baki's direction, the photo exhibit was hurriedly set up. The Karabag villagers became convinced that the mosques in Kabul were working as usual: No one had even thought of closing them. They saw photographs showing a military parade on the day celebrating the third anniversary of the revolution. They saw photographs of those who had come into the people's militia to serve their military duty. And, finally, they saw how people live in other parts of the planet.

Meanwhile, the time for Namaz arrived. The loudspeaker reminded people of this. The music fell silent. And when after Namaz was finished the loudspeaker again began to speak, not a single person left the square.

Vakhab, an instructor in the CC of the Democratic Organization of the Youth of Afghanistan, introduced the guests to the assemblage. He said that they had been sent by the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan and by the people's government. That they would like to tell the Karabag villagers how the new power cares about the peasants, about the servants of Islam, and about simple merchants. Then he invited a local mullah to read a sura from the Koran.

After this kind of prelude it was no longer difficult to rouse the people.

--You say that the government has announced a just land reform. Then why do they have to cut away two of my five dzheribs? Where is the justice in that?--Having cried out these words, a tall elderly peasant again sat down in the place on the ground directly in front of the truck, covering himself up with a big wool scarf.

--People, do not believe malicious rumors,--Tug"yen replied. You are being deceived by the dushmans. If a person has five dzheribs, not a scrap will be taken from him. On the contrary: A whole additional dzherib will be cut off for him. This is what the law says.--And Tug"yen opened up the newspaper KHEVAD containing the Ukaze of the Revolutionary Council of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan about the continuation of the reforms:

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--Who can read here? Well, read it and let everybody hear.

That same mullah turned out to be literate. It was he who was asked to read the Ukaze. It was as if the crowd moved forward. And when the reading was over, the tall peasant again stood up:--It is bad to be illiterate, people. But now we have all heard with our own ears.

A man in a black turban and a narrow vest over a wide shirt squeezed his way through to the truck. He was the owner of a small shop who traded tea, cheese, spices, and groats. According to his words, it turned out that he almost lost money from his trade, and, moreover, new goods had not been brought in for a long time. In addition, they come from Khan, demand goods, and instead of money they show you a knife. How is one to go on?

--That is true,--the answer came in a microphone from a truck.--It is hard now for the tradesman. The bandits hinder normal trade. But if the shops were closed, where would the noble worker buy what he needs? That means that it is necessary to unite and create a detachment for the defense of the revolution so that no Khans will be able to stick their noses in the village. After all, you are a power, there are many of you.

--It is good when there are many.--A very white person rose from the ground. Stretching out his hands which consisted, it seemed, solely of veins, he continued in a hollow thin voice.--But I go out alone to my vineyard. You begin to cut some bunches and a dushman (rebel) behind your back threatens: Get out of here before I shoot. . . . It also happens differently. Sometimes at night you have to water the vineyard. You go and a policeman stops you and makes you turn back. It is night, he says, you cannot walk around the area, they could start shooting. . . .

--The question is a serious one,--Sharif says.--An important question. Maybe the peasant should put a flashlight on his neck when he is working at night? The policeman will know that he is one of his own because a bandit will not put a flashlight on. . . .

--Well. Maybe that is right,--they began to stir in the crowds. It was clear: People suddenly felt with relief that any question could, it turned out, be posed, discussed, and solved.

At the conclusion of the meeting the people saw a miracle.

Movies

Never before had a movie been shown in Karabag. A screen had never been seen in the great majority of the other populated points through which the agitation detachment passed. The impression was such an unusual and strong one that at first some people ran away in fear: Was this not sorcery?

This reaction should not amaze anyone, for we are talking about a country in which there is not even a railroad yet. Electric buses here are to be seen only in

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Kabul, and, although airplanes fly in the sky, a streetcar and, especially, a subway has never been heard of. And on the screen people are walking on the street among high beautiful buildings, a car is moving right at you, and railroad cars are racing under the ground. Fountains are throwing their water up toward the sky. Children are smiling. Music can be heard.

Where is all this happening? In Uzbekistan? Where is Uzbekistan? One of the republics of the Soviet Union? That means that all of these living pictures are the truth? But how did they get on the screen?

The story of the movies begins: how they are made. And then one more documentary film, and another is shown. For example, about a gardener who has grown unusually large and tasty pomegranates. Or about a man who works on an enormous cotton field absolutely by himself on a high blue machine. And this is not a dream, it is the movies--with its help even an illiterate peasant can imagine what this very big world looks like.

But what is this? Our own mountains. The road on which you can get from Kabul to Karabag itself. Burnt schools--the bandits had gone through here. People with shovels and wheelbarrows--they have come out for the so-called "voluntary Friday," and they are cleaning up and making their street clean. . . . The camera operator has put in a new film--the movie by the well-known Uzbek movie director Malik Kayumov, "The Revolution is Continuing," which was made here, in Afghanistan, immediately after the 1978 April Days and later, when the second stage of the revolution began. The text is in Pushtu, but some invisible person also translates it into Dari. So that every word is understandable to everyone.

The color film, "The Truth of the April Revolution," was also watched attentively in the villages. Frame after frame and everything so familiar, so truthful! But there is also a lot in the film that until now had remained unknown or incomprehensible, very very far away, and now it had become absolutely clear and close in a human way.

And what a holiday the merry animated cartoon films were for the children!

The detachment spent the night in Karabag. On the following morning responsible officials who had come into it received the village's inhabitants, looked into complaints and requests together with the local representatives of power, and listened to suggestions. Others went about the narrow streets and looked in on people if they were invited into their homes. There they would answer questions, give help, or simply press someone's hand to their breast in reply to the same greeting.

And after the mid-day Namaz the folk instruments again sounded out. One of the instruments sounded especially beautiful. And the people headed for the square.

If yesterday they had not waited for the detachment in Karabag, today they were not letting it go.

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A Dispute

The village of Saf'yan had always been distinguished by the fact that holy Islam was revered here with a special zeal, and the laws of the Shariat had never once been violated from the time of their very establishment. Not a single thing not only was not decided without the mullah, but was not even begun.

Since the detachment had been sent from Kabul by "apostates" who had trampled upon Islam," it was regarded, of course, with hostility. An orthodox Moslem must not stain himself through associations with those who close up mosques and who have rejected the sacred book of the Prophet.

The broadcasting station had been working for a good hour, but not a single person appeared on the square in front of the mosque. This was all the more surprising in that the Khidzhantsy were not among those whom the dushmans succeeded in frightening. Moreover, the dushmans avoided Saf'yan. But the slander which had been spread by them did its work. The village which despised the dushmans was also distrustful of the emissaries of the revolutionary power.

The detachment understood this right away. How was this difficult knot to be untied? From which side were the people to be approached?

It was decided: Aminuddin Saidi will go to the local mullah. Not Sultan Mokhammad, the detachment's mullah, but just Aminuddin. Let the village elders assemble. The detachment asks them to listen why it has come to Saf'yan.

Well, all right, you can listen one time, the mullah agreed. At the same time, we will tell the apostates how low they have fallen. At a word from the mullah, gray-bearded old men and black-bearded strong men--the most respected inhabitants of Saf'yan--came into the mosque. They walked, turning away from the agitation detachment's truck, showing with their whole appearance that they did not wish to defile even their gazes.

--So, what do you need?--The mullah squeezed out after a trying silence.

--We would like, for example, to tell how the people's government cares about clergymen,--Saidi began.

The mullah ran his eyes around the assemblage and smirked:

--Well, go on, speak.

--First of all, salaries have been increased for all mullahs. This is especially needed by the poor mullahs who live with as much difficulty as their parishioners. And in Afghanistan most of our mullahs are of that kind.

--And when did this decree come out?--The mullah now looked at the young man seriously.

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--Why, a long time ago. You mean you did not hear about it?

--How are we to hear. Not everybody has a radio, even I do not have one. And Mok-id-Din said that, on the contrary, from now on we are all being deprived of our salaries.

--Who is this Mok-id-Din?

--A man of God.

--Where is he from?

--Actually, I do not know. He lived with us here for several weeks.

--And where is he now?

--We do not know. He left. It is a sin to ask a man of God what his road is.

--The merchant Omar said that Mok-id-Din is a friend of Asad himself--one of the old men noted, as if to himself. Asad was the name of the head of a band which was hiding around the gorge.

--It cannot be,--the mullah said in sincere amazement.

--Of course not,--the other elders supported him.

--Well, so it means it cannot be,--Aminuddin showed his broad smile.--Only the law about which I am speaking was adopted a long time ago. And recently a law was adopted which assigns land to the mullahs, as to all workers. And there is another law according to which our respected representatives of the clergy must be members of the committees carrying out the land reform.--Aminuddin turned to the elders and added:--Just like the noble elders.

It is not true when it is said that the new power will close the mosques,--Aminuddin continued.--We have brought photographs with us which will show you that all of the mosques in Kabul and in the whole country are working unhindered. The government is unstinting with money to support the Islamic temples. Do not believe those who tell you the opposite. I myself regularly go to clean up the mosque which is in my neighborhood, and very many young people act like that. Because the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan teaches to respect the religious traditions of the people.

--That is all in words,--an old man who was sitting to the right of the mullah biliously interrupted Aminuddin.

--Then why am I here?--Saidi again smiled. And rapidly getting more serious, he added:--We want to discuss with you a program for our detachment's stay in Saf'yan. Everything that you say we will do, and what you reject we will exclude.

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He pulled a sheet of paper out from inside his wide shirt which all of the peasants wear and, stretching it to the mullah, asked him to read it to the public. The conditions of the game which had been proposed by Aminuddin were honest, and the mullah was compelled to accept them. For about 20 minutes the discussion continued. In the end the program was accepted.

Returning the sheet to Aminuddin, the mullah, his eyes flashing, asked:

--And the fact that pilgrimages to Mecca have been prohibited--also untrue?

--Untrue,--Aminuddin calmly parried him.--Every one of us who decides to perform the Hadj will be able to convince himself of this.

--And the holy days have not been abolished?--The mullah continued just as bitingly.

--Oh, Almighty!--Aminuddin raised his eyes to the sky.--I pray of you: Do not permit the enemy's slander to continue to becloud the eyes of these noble people.--And looking at the mullah openly and honestly, he, in his turn, asked:--Do you mean that you do not know that during the month of Ramazan famous Maulavi read the Koran every evening on Kabul television? How would that have been possible if the holy day had been abolished?

There was a silence. The elders were sitting, looking straight in front of themselves, and their faces were impenetrable. After being silent for a minute, Aminuddin quietly and with emphasis set down, as it were, a period:

--The only thing that is not permitted--is to use the sacred Koran to harm the people. It is a great sacrilege to camouflage oneself with the name of the Prophet in order to commit black deeds, as is done by some people about whom you know no worse than I.

--Well, all right, lad. Let us go and announce to the people that they can come to listen to you. Only I will do this on your microphone because my voice is somehow losing its strength. . . .

On the way Aminuddin noticed that a boy of about 15 had thrown onto the floor the special issue brought by them of the newspaper KHEVAD which was devoted to Islam in the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. He went up to the boy:

--You see: Islam is being discussed here. This is an ayat from the sacred Koran, and this is another ayat. It is not good to throw Allah's words around.

--He is right,--the mullah confirmed.--Pick up the newspaper and, by the way, bring it to the mechet, I will read it later.

The meeting in Saf'yan continued for six hours, and for as many hours on the next day.

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The Doctor

Included in the agitation detachment was a doctor--this was mentioned at the beginning. Is it necessary to explain how important this was? The road lay through villages where they had not heard about doctors. And, as it turned out, there really were a lot of sick people. The detachment dispensary--a long table set with boxes containing medicines and medical instruments--gathered quite a few people around itself.

The Soviet doctor Aleksey Viktorovich Shavlak had been invited as detachment doctor. If we stayed in a popular point, the next day, and sometimes for 2 or 3 days, he had work from dawn to dusk. One and the same person might come several times. And Shavlak patiently heard him out again and again.

It was necessary to open boils and to give injections. As a rule, Shavlak did not prescribe medicine--he gave it out from his own pharmacy; all the same, there was no place to present a prescription: There was not a pharmacy in a single village.

During the doctor's reception hours there were times one had to laugh. Someone would bring eggs in a box, or even a rooster. Many people brought a bunch of grapes in a kerchief, or a half dozen apples, or apricots. One old man pulled a longish Afghan pancake out of his shirt; he had put it there to keep it warm; if it was possible to refuse a rooster, it was not possible to refuse bread. . . .

During the propaganda campaign it turned out that 800 people were entered in the registration book of the doctor Aleksey Shavlak. This was, let us say it frankly, not bad agitation for the new system. For a society in which the health of people becomes an important concern of the government. For the doctor, as the respected Vakhab said, had been sent to the village by the government itself, was that not true?

It turns out that in Kabul there is now a good government.

Nomads

There are several million of them in Afghanistan. On the necessary day the tribe picks itself up and moves from one place to another. The moves take several months and amount to thousands of kilometers. If the tribe is a big one, it seems that an entire city is on the move. This kind of impression occurs especially at night, when the campfires are burning.

Nomads turned up on the detachment's road more than once. The relatively small Nasiri tribe--100 tents and yurts--met the detachment with interest. First there was, of course, a discussion with the elders. After learning where the detachment was from and what its goals were, the elders very wisely reasoned that, for example, medical care is something necessary, that a concert, probably, could also be listened to, and that in the end there would be some gifts--this was altogether all right. True, we still do not know what the movies is. But all right, we will look.

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Having received permission from the elders, the people hastily surrounded the detachment's vehicle. The concert began. And the elders returned to one of the largest yurts and invited Sharif and Aminuddin Saidi to come with them.

--So, you say that the government which is sitting in Kabul cares about the tribes?--A white-bearded elder, probably the most influential of them, began.--How does this express itself?

--Well, I will at least name a law according to which pasture lands are assigned to tribes,--Sharif replied.--Is that bad? And is it bad that the government gives thought to how to make it easier for you to move your property? You are being allocated trucks--during your long and distant passages this will be of great help, is that not so?

--I suppose so.--The elder agreed.--But how is that to be done when there are bandits on the road?

--Permit me to observe most honored one: By no means on all roads.--Sharif retorted,--But only there where they for some reason do not meet resistance. If, for example, your noble Nasiri tribe would take upon itself the protection of some part of the road, the bandits would never dare to come there. You have weapons and great bravery. And when there is peace in the tribes' lands it will be easier to help them.

His words contained good sense, but still it is necessary to think. To think from every side; you know, we have many different circumstances.

--Well, think, respected one. No one is hurrying you.--After pausing, Sharif as if by accident added:--Except life itself.

The elders exchanged looks. But Sharif had already changed the conversation.

--Incidentally, when there is peace the government will be able to send to you learned people who will help if the livestock begin to die. These people are called "veterinarians." And you have to pay them very little money, almost nothing.

The elders again exchanged glances. The one who was asking the questions began to speak again:

--Incidentally, you do not know when the tribal meetings will be? It has been a long time.

--Excuse me,--Saidi entered the conversation.--The tribal assembly met quite recently, not long before the founding congress of the National Fatherland Front. . . .

--And what is that?

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--The National Fatherland Front unites the entire people in its ranks. It is supported by everybody who wants genuine peace on our land. Many tribes have also supported it. Incidentally, why should not your noble and courageous tribe also support the front?

--We will also think that over, young man. Your friend said that no one is hurrying us. . . . So that means that the tribal assemblies were not abolished?

--On the contrary, they have been restored now. The government sincerely respects the free and proud traditions of the tribes.

--All right, time will show. Everything that you have said here has to be thoroughly discussed.

Sharif and Aminuddin rose, and then made a low bow.

They saw a lot of adults and children on the fields by the movie unit. In the eyes of the nomads who until then had looked only at mountains and sand, there was a frozen look of amazement. The world, it turns out, is enormous and very diverse. And although they are sure that all of this has to be thought about a hundred and a thousand times, nevertheless what they had heard and seen today was very very interesting. . . .

Then there was the distribution of the gifts. You have to get used to drinking out of glasses. The decorated kerchief, of course, will come in handy. But the shoes! How wonderful, shoes! Many of these poor people who in essence stood on the edge of poverty had never put them on. Yes, the government which had sent them shoes knows, it seems, how hard the life of a nomad is. Is it possible that somebody under this sky has begun to think about us?

The morning began with the doctor's reception. The musicians helped to bring water from an almost dried-out brook. The movie operator was showing an animated cartoon for the children. Vakhab explained the content of the photographs on the stands which had been set up right in the middle of the tents. In the evening before the concert one of the elders announced that the meeting of the tribe had decided to support the National Fatherland Front. The other proposals of our guests will also be thought over, he added.

Shuravi

In translation Shuravi means Soviet.

The agitation detachment's task also included telling the truth about the Soviet Union--the sincere and faithful friend of Afghanistan. We were friends of this country before and, especially now.

But so many lies and so many of the vilest slanders had been rained down upon the heads of the Shuravi that the detachment decided to find out whether these noxious seeds were producing fruit. To what extent had all of those "free" radio stations

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succeeded, all of the treacherous sermons of the reactionary mullahs, and, finally, the false rumors, large numbers of which were being spread by the counter-revolution according to the prescriptions of its American, Chinese, Egyptian, and other "teachers" and patrons?

Here it has to be said that the road on which the detachment was going had been built with the help of the Soviet Union. Did the inhabitants of the villages and cities located along it know about this? Many did not know. And when they found out they reacted in different ways: Some were amazed with wide open eyes, others shook their heads and smacked their lips, and still others smiled with relief. But no one remained indifferent.

In those places where the detachment encountered people who at one time had worked side by side with Soviet specialists--for example, on the high-mountain snow pass Salang--it was not difficult to become convinced of their sympathy for our country. Trust in the Shuravi had developed in them long ago, had been tested often, and had remained within them unshakable to this day.

When near the city of Charikar the detachment met the Rustamkheyl' tribe and offered those who desired to do so to go to the doctor, the people began to rush, when they found out that the doctor was, in addition, a Shuravi. Aleksey Shavlak examined 50 people then. He gave them all medicines, treated the wounds of others, and put drops in people's eyes. . . .

--Rustamkheyl' respect the Shuravi,--their elder said with dignity.

In the village of Kalamuradbek Vakhb showed photographs with views of Tashkent, Samarkand, and big cotton fields.

--The Shuravi work their fields with machines and they also gather the harvest with machines--he said.

--I know,--an elderly peasant inserted. And without any apparent connection added:--When the Shuravi were passing through here they repaired a tractor in the cooperative. . . .

When he heard the calls of the loudspeaker, the influential elder of the village Diruz Khodzha Abdulgani was the first to appear at the mechet for a meeting with the detachment with his entourage of a dozen and a half respected villagers.

--I know that you are the friend of the Shuravi,--he said.--I am also not their enemy. And all of these people (he motioned at his companions) are also not against the Shuravis helping us. They are good people. Personally I cannot say anything bad about the Shuravi.

There really is no value to be set on this simple testimonial. It is the reflection of living facts, some of great importance and some of little importance, from which the disinterested aid of the USSR to fraternal Afghanistan is made. No,

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the slanderers have been far from successful. Even their very big lie was not able to silence the truth. And it will not be able to in the future.

The Fortress of the Wise

The participants in this almost month-long campaign learned much.

For example, this kind of "trifle."

During the course of a meeting the floor would always be given either to a local representative in power, or to a responsible comrade from the district or from the province. An agreement was made that a speech would not last more than 10 to 15 minutes. But it was rare that anyone fit into this time.

The reasons? One of them is the habit for the traditional style of public statements which has long been customary in the country. An idea is clothed in a large number of fine items of clothing in which it frequently drowns without a trace. Customary for a narrow circle, this style is not suitable, of course, for meetings and for discussions with mass audiences which are basically illiterate and sometimes completely unprepared.

And it was decided in the detachment to learn to speak with the simple people. One of the speakers (I will not name him) dragged out his speech for 45 minutes. A shorthand copy had been made of it, and then it was analyzed by sentence. And it turned out that it could have been shortened: Here--simple repetition, and always unnecessary beautifulness. . . . The comrade did not become insulted. The next time he spoke more briefly, but still in all it was twice as long as it was supposed to have been. Again the stenogram was analyzed. The third time, instead of 15 minutes, he took up only 12. And again the stenogram was studied, and the conclusion was arrived at that in pursuit of brevity the comrade had left out important points. . . .

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LEGAL STATUS OF FOREIGNERS IN USSR DEFINED

Moscow SOVETSKOYE GOSUDARSTVO I PRAVO in Russian No 3, Mar 82 pp 95-104

[Article by N. V. Mironov, doctor of juridical sciences: "The Legal Status of Foreign Citizens in the USSR"]

[Text] The necessity for defining the rights and duties, and the entire complex which enters into the concept of the legal status of foreigners, arose before Soviet legislators immediately after the Great October Socialist Revolution. And this is quite understandable. For the October Revolution was in fact carried out in order to affirm human rights, the rights of the vast majority of the people of our country--the working class, the peasantry, and all of the laboring masses. And the question of the status of foreigners is also a part of the problem of human rights which required legal regulation.

The most important legislative acts of the struggle by the new power to consolidate the rights of the workers of our country were such of Lenin's acts as the Declaration of the Rights of the Peoples of Russia (2 November 1917), the 11 November 1917 Decree of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee and Council of People's Commissars "On the Destruction of Estates and Civil Ranks," the 20 November 1917 appeal of the Council of People's Commissars and of the People's Commissariat for Nationalities "To All of the Laboring Moslems of Russia and the East," the Declaration of the Rights of the Laboring and Exploited People (18 January 1918), which later went into the first Soviet Constitution of 1918, and other decrees of Lenin's. The political, and also the socio-economic and cultural rights of Soviet citizens were proclaimed and legislatively consolidated in them. At the same time, the Soviet state created the material basis for these rights by proclaiming and legislatively consolidating public socialist ownership of the means of production which was a guarantee of the reality of these rights, a guarantee that they would be carried out. "The establishment of public socialist ownership of the land, of the inner riches of the earth, and of the means of production," L. I. Brezhnev states, "was the chief guarantee of the reality not only of the political, but also the social and economic rights of man in the USSR." [2, p 14]

All of this signified the transformation of the merely formal juridical human rights under the bourgeois state which were limited and truncated by the very character and the very essence of exploiting society into effective real human rights, and a shift from the formal equality of bourgeois society to actual

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equality under socialism, to equality in essence. "The proclamation and ensuring of economic, social, and cultural rights, together with the rejection of the right of any person at all to exploitation and the appropriation of the fruits of another's labor, signified a movement from formal equality to equality in essence and laid the material foundation under the political rights and freedoms of citizens." [2, p 14]

As a result of the October Revolution, a new legal category and a new juridical concept arose--Soviet citizenship which had taken form on a completely different political, social and economic, and legal soil than the citizenship of the exploiting state. "The October Revolution," the USSR People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs G. V. Chicherin said in 1924 at the session of the USSR Central Executive Committee which adopted the first Statute on USSR Citizenship, "has for the first time created a citizen in the sense of a bearer of a part of the collective will of the laboring masses which is embodied in the Soviet state. . . . A Soviet citizen is a participant of that Soviet state power which has as its content a lofty historical mission--the realization of the ideals of the struggling proletariat." [3]

Internationalist in its character, the proletarian revolution, naturally, could not but apply the very important social and economic and other rights and freedoms which had been proclaimed in the Soviet state and granted to Soviet citizens to those foreign citizens living on the territory of the Soviet republic. And it is important to note that as early as the first postrevolutionary years there was a legal consolidation of this fact with respect to many aspects of the juridical status of foreigners in the Soviet country. Thus, the first 1918 Soviet Constitution, for example, resolved important questions concerning the status of foreigners: on granting them the right of asylum (Article 21) (this right had been established earlier by the 28 March 1918 Decree of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee "On the Right of Asylum"); on the admission of foreign workers into Soviet citizenship (Article 20); and on the jurisdiction of the supreme state agencies in the field of regulating the legal status of foreigners on the territory of the Soviet state (Point "a" of Article 49 of the Constitution).

Many other questions of the legal status of foreigners in the Soviet Union were regulated in a large number of subsequent legislative acts.* In particular, in the first Soviet Code of Labor Laws which was published in December 1918, foreign workers are made equal in their labor rights and duties with citizens of the RSFSR. In accordance with the Statute on Social Security for Workers which was ratified on 31 October 1918 by the Council of People's Commissars, foreigners in the Soviet republic enjoyed the right to social security equally with Soviet citizens on condition that the source of their existence was their own labor without the exploitation of another's labor. In the civil and civil procedural spheres, the 22 May 1922 Decree of the All-Union Central Executive Committee "On

* For more details on the development of Soviet legislation on the legal status of foreign citizens in the USSR see [5].

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the Basic Private Property Rights Which are Recognized by the RSFSR, Protected by its Laws, and Defended by the Courts of the RSFSR" established the list of basic property rights of foreigners in the RSFSR. The decree recognized for foreigners legally residing on the territory of the RSFSR the same amount of civil rights as was granted to Soviet citizens.

In their aggregate these and other legal acts define the status of foreign citizens in the USSR which from the very beginning, from the first decrees of October, was characterized not only by the granting to foreigners of broad democratic rights and freedoms, but also by the actual and not the formal essence of these rights and freedoms. ". . . in place of the formal proclamation of rights and freedoms," V. I. Lenin stated, "Soviet democracy places the actual granting of these rights and freedoms above all and most of all precisely to those classes of the population which were oppressed by capitalism, that is, the proletariat and the peasantry." [1]

On 24 June 1981 a session of the USSR Supreme Soviet adopted a Law on the Legal Status of Foreign Citizens in the USSR. [6] Its adoption was the result above all of the practical needs of the USSR's developing relations with foreign countries and of the interest in expanding international relations on behalf of strengthening peace in the world. The law will promote the implementation of the Leninist foreign policy of the Soviet state, a policy of peaceful cooperation with all of the peoples of our planet. At the same time, the new law bears witness to the consistent and steady practical realization of the line which was defined by the 25th and 26th CPSU Congresses and is aimed at a further improvement of Soviet socialist legislation which is one of the chief directions of the Soviet state's activities.

Work is presently being done in our country on the publication of the first Soviet Code of Laws. The plan for a USSR Code of Laws which was approved by the 23 March 1978 Decree of the CC CPSU, Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the USSR Council of Ministers provides for a special chapter "Foreign Citizens and Persons Without Citizenship" (Chapter 9, Section II of the Code). [7] In the Summary Report of the CC CPSU to the 26th Party Congress, L. I. Brezhnev stated that a renewal of Soviet legislation on the basis of the USSR Constitution will produce a large useful effect. The Law on the legal status of foreign citizens in the USSR is one of the results of the work being performed to renew and perfect the laws. It is based on the propositions of the USSR Constitution, and, above all, on the norms of Article 37 which establish that "foreign citizens and persons without citizenship in the USSR are guaranteed the rights and freedoms stipulated by law, including the right to address the courts and other state agencies for the defense of the personal, property, family, and other rights which belong to them. Foreign citizens and persons without citizenship who are on the territory of the USSR are obliged to respect the USSR Constitution and to comply with the Soviet laws."

The Law on the legal status of foreign citizens in the USSR provides a reflection for the propositions of the Concluding Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe and of the International Pacts on Human Rights which have been

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ratified by the Soviet Union, the Ukrainian SSR, and the Belorussian SSR, and consideration is also given to the extensive international treaty practice of the USSR with regard to legal assistance, consulate matters, and so forth.

The new Law consolidates the most important regulations of the existing legislation on the status of foreign citizens, and it develops the norms of the USSR Constitution regarding the guarantees of the rights and freedoms of foreign citizens, their obligation to respect the USSR Constitution and comply with the Soviet laws, and the granting of the right of asylum to foreigners. At the same time, it is established that the realization of the rights and freedoms which are granted in the USSR to foreign citizens are inseparable from their performance of the duties stipulated by the Soviet laws. The Law contains a general norm in accordance with which foreign citizens located on the territory of the USSR enjoy the same rights and freedoms and bear the same obligations as USSR citizens, unless otherwise dictated by the laws of the USSR (the principle of national regime). In addition, the new law proceeds from the concept that specific rights and duties by virtue of their character can belong and do belong only to USSR citizens as members of the new historical community of people which has developed in our country--the Soviet people,--and as participants in and builders of our developed socialist society which is a lawful stage on the path to communism, and that they should not be applied to foreigners. Thus, foreign citizens cannot elect or be elected to the Soviets of People's Deputies and to other elective state bodies, or take part in the USSR in public voting (referendums) (Article 22); and they do not have the obligation of performing military service in the ranks of the USSR Armed Forces (Article 23). Foreigners may not occupy certain posts the appointment to which is connected with USSR citizenship. For example, in accordance with the existing laws, foreign citizens may not be crew members of USSR aircraft (Article 19 of the 1961 USSR Air Code), of Soviet maritime vessels (Article 41 of the 1966 USSR Code of Merchant Seafaring), may not be consular officials (Article 14 of the 1976 USSR Consulate Charter), may not be appointed to the jobs of state notary publics (Article 5 of the 19 July 1973 Law on the State Office of Notary), and so forth. These are reservations which are generally accepted in international practice in connection with the granting to foreigners of a national regime. Exceptions of this kind from the national regime are widely known to the legislation of other countries of the world also.

Basing itself on the regulations of the USSR Constitution and on developed practice, and taking account of the International Pacts on human rights, the law of 24 June 1981 proclaims the equality of foreign citizens before the law regardless of their origin, social and property status, racial and national membership, sex, education, language, attitude toward religion, the nature and character of their work, and other circumstances (Article 3); defines the rights of foreigners which are connected with their performance of labor activities (Article 7); and establishes the rights of foreigners to housing, to participation in public organizations, to the inviolability of their persons and domiciles, to freedom of conscience (Articles 11, 15-16, 18), and a number of other rights.

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It is stipulated that foreign citizens may move over the territory of the USSR and select a place of residence in the USSR in accordance with the procedure established by the laws of the USSR. At the same time, in accordance with the International Pact on Civil and Political Rights, the possibility is admitted of restricting the movements of foreigners and their freedom to select places of residence in cases if this is necessary to ensure state security, protect public order and the health and morality of the population, or defend the rights and legitimate interests of USSR citizens and other persons.

The division of foreigners into two categories on the basis of the characteristics of their sojourn on the territory of the USSR is an important regulation of the law which defines the status of foreign citizens in the USSR: foreigners who are permanently in residence in the USSR, and foreigners who are temporarily staying on the territory of the USSR. Different legal regimens have been established for these categories of foreigners on the basis of the purpose of their sojourn on Soviet territory. Practically speaking, this kind of division of foreign citizens took shape as early as the first years of Soviet power, since in a large number of acts foreigners were already at that time divided into those "residing" on the territory of the USSR and those located or "sojourning" on Soviet territory. However, legally, it was fixed for the first time only in the 3 September 1926 Decree of the Central Executive Committee and USSR Council of People's Commissars "On Foreigners With a Temporary Stay or With a Permanent Residence in the USSR." [8] Subsequently, this division which is the basic proposition for determining the different rights of these foreign citizens was consolidated in a number of acts of the legislation in effect which have to do with individual branches or spheres of regulation (Article 32 of the Principles of the Laws of the USSR and Union Republics on Health Protection, and Others). Now it has become the general norm of the so-called "right of foreigners" in the USSR.

The new law provides legislative regulation for the basic questions connected with the entrance into the USSR and exit from the USSR by foreigners, and also the responsibility of foreign citizens for infractions of the law on the territory of the USSR (Sections III and IV). The regulation of the issues of entrance into and exit out of the USSR for foreign citizens is based on a practice which has been in effect for many years now and which provides for permission to enter the USSR and leave it on the basis of foreign passports or substitute documents. For the first time in Soviet law the procedure of a transit passage by foreign citizens through the territory of the USSR is established. As for the responsibility of foreign citizens for law infractions on the territory of the USSR, this responsibility ensues for foreigners who have committed crimes, or administrative or other law infractions on USSR territory on the same basis as for USSR citizens. In particular, stipulation is made for administrative and criminal responsibility for the violation of the rules of sojourn in the USSR and of transit passage over the territory of the USSR, for a reduction of the period of sojourn in the USSR for foreigners who violate the laws on the legal status of foreign citizens in the USSR, and also the expulsion of foreigners outside of the limits of the USSR on grounds established in the law.

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Since the legal status of persons without citizenship in the USSR is on the whole analagous to the status of foreign citizens, it is stipulated that the norms of the law being examined apply also to persons without citizenship, unless otherwise defined by the USSR laws. At the same time, the regulations of the new law do not effect the privileges and immunities of the heads and officials of foreign diplomatic and consular legations, and also of other persons which have been established by the USSR laws and by USSR international treaties.

Its general and overall character which covers all of the basic questions of the status of foreigners in the USSR is a very important legal characteristic of the Law on the Legal Status of Foreign Citizens in the USSR. It is understandable, therefore, that the new law will become the basis for a corresponding chapter in the USSR Code of Laws. Such a general character law which in fact codifies in a single act the full "right of foreigners" is being adopted in the USSR for the first time. As is known, in the past there did not exist a single legislative act on the legal status of foreigners in the USSR, and the corresponding norms which concerned individual aspects of the status of foreign citizens were contained chiefly in various acts of general significance, or in special acts devoted to concrete issues. As a matter of legislative continuity the law includes the most important democratic principles and norms which have been in effect in the USSR and the legislation on foreign citizens which existed before the publication, while it consistently develops them in conformity with the present-day conditions of international intercourse and the USSR's international relations. However, the law does not only codify the norms in effect. It includes a large number of new propositions which supplement and expand the sphere of the legislative regulation of the status of foreigners and which respond to the requirements of contemporary practice and which take account of the legislative experience of other socialist states and also of the regulations of international treaties of which the USSR is a participant.

The normative basis of the new law is comprised of the regulations of the 1977 USSR Constitution which proclaim and consolidate the rights, freedoms, and obligations of foreign citizens in the USSR. However, the norms of the 24 June 1981 Law, for entirely understandable reasons, embrace a much wider sphere of relations connected with foreign citizens than that which is outlined by the constitutional regulations. It is important to note that a number of constitutional and other norms which concern the rights, freedoms, and obligations of Soviet citizens exercised the most direct influence on the formulation of these new articles and regulations of the law. And this is entirely understandable, for in the final analysis the basic principle of the status of foreign citizens in the USSR, as follows from the USSR Constitution and as was stipulated by the preceding Soviet laws concerning concrete fields and legal relations, is the granting to foreigners in the USSR of a national regime; that is, as a general rule, the same rights, freedoms, and obligations (with specific exclusions stipulated by the law) as exist for USSR citizens.

The granting to foreigners of a national regime follows directly from the USSR Constitution (Article 37) and from the preceding Soviet laws. However, such an exact and specific formulation as is given in Article 3 of the 24 June 1981 Law

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and which is applied to all spheres of activity is given for the first time in Soviet legislation. In this article it is recorded that "foreign citizens in the USSR enjoy the same rights and freedoms and bear the same obligations as USSR citizens, unless otherwise indicated by the USSR Constitution, the present Law, and other acts of Soviet legislation." The precise fixing in the law of the granting of a national regime to foreign citizens in the USSR as a general norm is testimony to a further improvement of Soviet legislation on the rights of foreigners in the USSR.

It is important to emphasize that this legal novel has the most direct practical consequences in the sense of the actual amount of rights which may be enjoyed by foreigners in the USSR. The fact is that in view of the very extensive amount of rights and freedoms which exist for USSR citizens, the granting in the Soviet Union of a national regime to foreigners means that in a large number of cases the foreigner in the USSR is practically guaranteed and granted more rights than he actually has in his own land. As was noted in the co-report of the committees on foreign affairs and the committees on legislative proposals of the Chamber of the USSR Supreme Soviet on a draft of the Law on the legal status of foreign citizens in the USSR, "in effect, a quite unique situation arises. The citizens of many foreign states who are located in our country have more rights the realization of which is fully guaranteed for them than in their own lands." [9] This situation convincingly testifies to the democratic spirit and humanism of the Soviet laws regarding foreigners.

The humanism and democratic spirit of the Law on the legal status of foreign citizens in the USSR are multi-faceted concepts which practically embrace all of the basic aspects of the legal situation of foreign citizens in the USSR which enter into the concept of the status of foreigners.

In direct opposition to the laws regarding foreigners which are in effect in the capitalist countries and which to a substantial degree amount merely to the regulation of the entry and exit and residence and movement of foreigners, the Soviet legislation on the legal status of foreign citizens in the USSR includes above all such very important spheres of relations which define the actual situation of people in a state as economic and social rights and freedoms. Instructive in this relation is the legislative consolidation in the new law of the right of foreign citizens to perform labor activity in the Soviet Union. It is also important to emphasize that this right which has been formulated with a view toward the regulations of Articles 6-7 of the International Pact on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights is in accord with the long-time practice in the USSR of granting the right to labor to foreigners who are permanently domiciled in the USSR which was consolidated in a number of acts. It can be recalled that as early as the first months of the existence of the Soviet state, in February 1918, the People's Commissariat of Labor issued a special act--the decree "On Imported Workers"--which proclaimed the complete equality of foreign workers and Soviet workers with regard both to payment and to working conditions. [10] The equalization of the labor rights of foreign workers and Soviet citizens was given a legal consolidation in subsequent legislative acts, in particular in the 1918 and 1922 Codes of Labor Laws of the RSFSR. [11, 12]

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The 24 June 1981 Law consolidates the national regime with respect to labor activity in the USSR for foreign citizens in permanent residence in the USSR. Such foreigners may work as workers and employees at enterprises and in institutions and organizations, or engage in other labor activities on the basis and in the procedure established for USSR citizens. As for foreign citizens who are temporarily in the USSR, they may engage in labor activity in the USSR, if this is compatible with the purposes of their sojourn. Moreover, both permanent and temporary foreign citizens, in the event that they are engaged in labor activity, enjoy the rights and bear the obligations in labor relations in an equal manner with USSR citizens. It should be noted that the right to labor has been granted to foreigners in other socialist countries also. As for the capitalist countries, foreigners are able to obtain work there (for example, in the United States, France, England, Sweden, and others) as a general rule, only if they are issued special permission.

In the same measure as the right to perform labor activities, the rights of foreign citizens which are guaranteed by Soviet law to rest, to health protection, to the enjoyment of culture, to be granted housing, and others are very instructive for a characterization of the actual status of foreigners in the USSR. Let us take, for example, the right to health protection and the right to being granted housing. The vital importance of such rights for every person is obvious. And the Soviet laws guarantee these rights to foreigners who are in the USSR. Moreover, they go much further in this direction than is provided for by international agreements and the Pacts on Human Rights. Thus, the "right to health," as it is formulated in Article 12 of the International Pact on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights, is concretized in the Soviet legislation on the rights of foreigners into a more socially precise and much more far reaching from the practical point of view concept--"the right to health protection." As for the right to housing and the guarantees for its realization, such a right and such guarantees for their own citizens are unknown both to the legislation and, especially, to the practice of any state of any other social system. This right and these guarantees do not exist in the International Pacts on Human Rights either.

The application of this law to persons without USSR citizenship is an important progressive and humane norm of the Law on the legal status of foreign citizens in the USSR. As is known, the category of persons without citizenship is a relatively new concept for Soviet legislation. It appeared only in the middle 1930's, after the adoption of the 1936 USSR Constitution and the 1938 Law on USSR Citizenship, in order to define the status of persons who are not USSR citizens, but at the same time who do not have proof of their citizenship in a foreign state. The Soviet legislation in effect (for example, the 1978 Law on USSR Citizenship) also retains this legal institution.

As a whole, the practice which has developed long ago equated the status of foreign citizens with the status of persons without citizenship in the USSR. This kind of important progressive factor accords with the humane principles of respecting human rights. However, until the adoption of the 24 June 1981 Law there was no general legislative norm for this issue. At the same time, it should be noted that

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in individual matters a difference is set between foreign citizens and persons without citizenship which defines certain basically insignificant special features of their status. For this reason, a number of laws and other normative acts make mention at the same time of both foreign citizens and persons without citizenship. Now the general norms regarding the legal status of foreign citizens in the USSR which have been fixed in the new law are applied to persons without citizenship, unless otherwise indicated in the USSR legislation. In other words, if the Soviet law in effect directly establishes differences in the status of foreign citizens and persons without citizenship, these differences are kept. The same applies to the special characteristics of the legal status in the USSR of the citizens of those countries with which the USSR has concluded international treaties, keeping in mind that the norms of the treaties were in the established procedure transformed or put in a different form in the Soviet legislation.

It is also obvious that by virtue of the application of the status stipulated for the citizens of foreign states in the USSR to persons without citizenship the division of foreign citizens which is established by the new law into those permanently and temporarily residing in the USSR is also applied to persons without citizenship who are located in the Soviet Union when the regulations of the law connected with a permanent or temporary sojourn on Soviet territory are applied to them.

In conclusion, let us examine the legal novel which is contained in Article 2 of the Law and which stipulates that "the legal status of foreign citizens in the USSR may also be determined on the basis of the USSR's international treaties." In the Soviet legislation of the last two decades, the norm has become very widespread that in the event that a USSR international treaty contains different regulations than those provided for by Soviet laws, the regulations of the international treaty are applied (Article 129 of the Principles of the Civil Law of the USSR and Union Republics, Article 55 of the Principles of the Law on Health Care, Article 29 of the 1 December 1978 Law on USSR Citizenship, and so forth). However, this norm is not a general norm of Soviet law and not its general principle, for it is applied only to those fields of regulation which are stated in the laws containing this norm, or it has a concrete law in view (the sphere of relations outlined by this law), and not the whole of Soviet law. The norm formulated in Article 2 of the Law on the legal status of foreign citizens in the USSR regarding the possibility of defining the legal status of foreigners "on the basis of the USSR's international treaties"--this, of course, is not the establishment of priority for the application of an international treaty in the sense that this norm is understood in Article 129 of the Principles of Civil Law and the other above-mentioned acts of USSR legislation. Nor does it define the mechanism itself of realizing the norms of international treaties on USSR territory. It is obvious that in this case something else is being discussed--a USSR law (or that of a union republic) whose adoption was based on the conclusion of an international treaty.

Thus, in the formula of the norm which is contained in Article 2 of the Law on the legal status of foreign citizens in the USSR there is in effect a dual general (that is, not tied to a concrete treaty and law) reference to an international

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treaty and to a domestic state law of the USSR, or, more exactly, a reference to an international treaty through the corresponding Soviet legislative or other legal act. In addition, this construction of the law should, apparently, be understood and applied only in the context of the general USSR legislative conception regarding international treaties which is set forth in the USSR Constitution and the 6 July 1978 Law on the procedure for concluding, executing, and renouncing USSR international treaties. In Article 29 of the USSR Constitution it is stated that the USSR's relations with other countries have to be organized on the basis of "the conscientious fulfillment of the obligations which follow from the generally recognized principles and norms of international law and from the international treaties which have been concluded by the USSR," and in Article 19 of the 6 July 1978 Law which develops this constitutional proposition it is emphasized that the "international treaties of the USSR are subject to absolute compliance by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics in accordance with the norms of international law."

Thus, the formula of the 24 June 1981 Law "the legal status of foreign citizens may also be determined on the basis of the USSR's international treaties" means that, given the existence of an international treaty which defines the legal status of foreign citizens, the legal status of foreigners in the USSR is determined by the regulations of this international treaty which are carried through into Soviet law as a fulfillment of the treaty by means of the publication of a special legislative or other legal document. And the fact that in this case it is precisely a Soviet legal document that is meant, and not some other kind of form of attributing to the norms and regulations of an international treaty an obligatory character for the subjects of intra-state law (a court decision, custom, and administrative order) is witnessed by the system of implementing international treaties which exists in the USSR. Thus, in accordance with the USSR Constitution, the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet ratifies and renounces international treaties (Point 6 of Article 121). It adopts the corresponding Ukazes on these matters. In accordance with Point 6 of Article 131 of the USSR Constitution, the USSR Council of Ministers, within the limits of its authority, "takes measures to ensure the fulfillment of USSR international treaties. . . ." The Law on the USSR Council of Ministers which was adopted on 5 July 1978 establishes that the decisions of the USSR Council of Ministers are published in the form of decrees and orders (Article 31). The 6 July 1978 Law on the procedure for concluding, executing, and renouncing international treaties provides for the publication of legislative and government acts for the realization of international treaties on the territory of the USSR (Articles 6 and 24) and so forth.

It is important to emphasize that the legislative formula of the norm which is contained in Article 2 of the 24 June 1981 Law and which determines not only the necessity for a national legal reception of the regulations of an international treaty, but also practically predetermines the very form of this reception (by means of the adoption of a Soviet legislative or other legal document), and which is used in the practice of Soviet legislation for the first time in this law fully corresponds to the system which has developed in the USSR of publishing

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national legal acts on the implementation of the regulations of international treaties which have been concluded by the USSR and, apparently, can find an application in other legislative acts.

And one more comment. The absence in the 24 June 1981 Law (as occurs in a number of other laws, for example, in the Principles of the Labor Law of the USSR and Union Republics) of a norm regarding the priority of the application of the regulations of international treaties by no means signifies that this principle will not be employed in the sphere of the regulation of the legal status of foreigners in the USSR. As a result of the overall nature of the legal sphere which is connected with the regulation of the status of foreigners in the USSR, it is obvious that all of the concrete norms which concern the individual aspects of the juridical status of foreigners in the USSR and which are contained in special or general acts of USSR legislation, for example, in the Principles of the Civil Law, Principles of the Law on Health Care, and On Public Education, On Civil Legal Proceedings, and so forth in which there is a norm regarding the priority of the application of the regulations of international treaties continue to be in effect in view of the above-mentioned priority norm. In such cases the norm which is contained in Article 2 of the 24 June 1981 Law acquires a subsidiary significance, actually defining the ways and forms of creating USSR national norms which bring into Soviet domestic state law the regulations of international treaties.

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NEW MOSQUES IN SOVIET UNION LISTED, DESCRIBED

Tashkent MUSLIMS OF THE SOVIET EAST in English No 1 (53), 1982 pp 5-6, 11-12, 23

[Excerpts] To perform different religious rites in Northern Caucasus we have official ministers of the cult who are well versed in the teachings of Islam and Shariat and every Muslim, who happens to be a resident of Northern Caucasus, is accorded an opportunity of regularly attending mosques. Along with this and numerous functioning mosques at present in these parts constructional work is in progress and new mosques are being opened out to public continuously. Thus, quite recently, such new mosques were opened out in Gudermes and at a populated centre of Barsuki of the Nazransk district of the Checheno-Ingush Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic and further new mosques are being opened out as well in the Karachayevo-Cherkessian Autonomous Region.

A great deal of attention is paid by our Religious board to matters associated with the preparation of highly qualified personnel for Muslim communities and for this purpose, young people are sent for further studies to such religious institutions like the "Mir-Arab" madrasah in Bukhara and the High Islamic Institute of al-Bukhari in Tashkent. Thus, in course of the recent years to these institutions from Northern Caucasus we have sent more than 20 students.

Mosques function in every large regional centres of the Dzhizak district in which everyday Islamic rites are regularly dispensed with and so, in the interests of all faithful, a new large cathedral mosque has thrown its portals wide open in the centre of Dzhizak. Its buildings are surrounded by verdure as well as well-appointed houses of Muslim residents with a broad asphalt-paved road which serves appropriately the needs of vehicular traffic at its approach to buildings of this new mosque.

Court-yard of this mosque is full of vineyards and flowers and all its service quarters are covered by luxurious carpets and rugs and chambers of ministers of the cult are decorated with exquisite taste so that they may receive their parishioners at latter's request and to perform marriage ceremonies whenever the occasion calls for.

Our correspondent approached Nazar Kasym Nourmanov, imam—hatyb of this cathedral mosque, with request to tell him something about the day-to-day functions of his mosque, activities of its ministers of the cult as well as something about himself and this revered shaikh told our correspondent that he was born in 1940 in Dzhizak in family of a Muslim

peasant. Here he successfully finished a school of secondary education in 1947 and by the grace of the Almighty Allah as well as his own ambitions he enrolled into the "Mir-Arab" madrasah in Bukhara where, along with other students from different Soviet Republics, he studied the Holy Quran and Sunnah of our beloved prophet Muhammad (may the Almighty Allah bless him). Further, shaikh Nazar Kasym expressed his sincere gratitude and feelings of deep respect towards his tutors Ziyautdinkhan Bin Ishan Babakhan, Yusufkhan Shakirov, Abdulgani Abdullaiyev, Siddirdin Karyh and other members of the tutorial staff who perseveringly extended to him every kind of assistance in mastering the proficiencies of the sacred teachings of Islam and directed him upon the true path which is indicated by the Almighty Allah. On graduating from this madrasah shaikh Nazar Kasym was appointed as imam-hatyb of cathedral mosque in Dzhizak where he showed not only his excellent knowledge in the teachings of Islam, but in his profound knowledge of organizational abilities as well which proved to be of a vital importance at the time of building the new mosque which, by no means, proved to be an easy task. Shaikh Nazar Kasym in his endeavours was constantly supported by the administrative personnel of Muslim Religious Board for Central Asia and Kazakhstan. In this connection shaikh Abdulgani Abdullah, Deputy Chairman of Muslim Religious Board, paid a number of visits to Dzhizak where he gave certain valuable instructions to our youthful imam-hatyb on various matters of prime importance.

Here it is worthwhile to mention that, the local autho-

rities on their part have provided a great deal of assistance in expediting the constructional works on this mosque by timely provision of different building materials entailed with the building of this shrine of worship and all the faithful Muslims, with the feelings of sincere joy, offered their prayers for the welfare and future prosperity of our Government which selflessly provides all-round care and deep concern for the Muslims, thus providing them with every possible facility to unobstructedly practice their religious rites which serves as a further evidence of an exceptional example as to what the Soviet State can actually do for the benefits of its Muslim community.

While dwelling upon this subject, it's quite improper order to mention here, that in every case plots of well-appointed and fertile land which are needed for the building of new cathedral mosques are, as a general practice, allocated free of all costs as was the case at the time of providing a suitable plot of land for erection of this new cathedral mosque in Dzhizak. Its construction was conducted under the direct supervision of some of the most skillful craftsmen who have many years of experience behind their shoulders in executing works of this specific profile.

It apparently is of a great interest to note here that, the first corner stone in this holy shrine was laid into place by shaikh Abdullaiyev, Dy. Chairman of our Muslim Religious Board sometime in the month of September in 1980, while in August of the following year the main mosque building together with all its service quarters was already thrown wide open to accommodate its parishioners and general public.

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From its external appearance it looks like a real colossal structure and its "hanaka" (hall of worship) alone occupies an area of 40 metres in length and 20 metres in width. Walls of this hall are decorated in Uzbek national style with the oriental ornament and its service quarters are likewise painted in colours of different shades with due consideration for provision of proper lighting effects and all the essential amenities of comfort. In front of the "hanaka" a vestibule is located in which, during the cold seasons of the year, visitors may take off their outer garments and leave their personal belongings in safe custody of the keeper.

As a matter of fact, quite a voluminous amount of work has been accomplished here with the assistance of the faithful who have always endeavoured their utmost to follow the prescriptions issued by the Almighty in respect of zealous accomplishment of different creative and constructive types of work. Also, quite a substantial contribution towards attractive decorum and numerous improvements to external appearance of this mosque was done by its regular parishioners like Yakubjan Turdikov, Sultankhan Sharipov, Lukman-

khan Saiyidov, Muhammadrahim Rasulov and a number of others (may the Almighty Allah grant them long years of a carefree and happy life!).

Inauguration day of this cathedral mosque was fixed on a Friday and all its parishioners (nearly four thousand of them) have flocked here to participate in mass prayers which were offered with feelings of great solemnity and a tour of well-appointed premises of this newly opened mosque was made by everyone with a vote of gratitude to administrative personnel of our Muslim Religious Board, our Mutawalliate of this shrine of devotion as well as all the officials of the local board of authorities who have extended every possible assistance in process of construction of this magnificent edifice, making sure that it was successfully accomplished on schedule. They also offered their prayers for effective consolidation of ranks within the sacred religion of Islam so that our great Motherland may prosper further and that lasting peace and tranquility may prevail upon our Planet in the absence of which no creative or constructional work of any kind may be well accomplished upon the earth.

● By industrious effort of the kazyate of Kazakhstan quite recently was built and opened to the public a new mosque in Langar, an inhabited large centre in southern area of Kazakhstan and as imam-hatyb of this divine house of worship was appointed the reciter of Quran Abdurahim karyh. Similarly several new mosques were opened out in a number of other populated districts of Kazakhshstan.

Constructional work on different mosques has been likewise accomplished in Siberia where, through the efforts of Muslim Religious Board for the European part of the USSR and Siberia in 1980 were opened out and handed over to ministers of the cult large cathedral mosques in Tobolsk and in Tiumen which are situated in the vicinity of

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the zone of everlasting frost and the Arctic Ocean and, through continuous efforts of the same Board quite recently yet another new cathedral mosque threw its portals wide open ready to receive its parishioners in the village of Andreiyevo of the Orenburg district.

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